

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 ISO-00 /011 R

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DRAFTED BY P:A.RAPHEL:WES

12/8/74 EXT. 21512

APPROVED BY S/S-O:G.TWOHIE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 269247

TOPOL 02

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC INFO ANKARA ATHENS LONDON USUN
NEW YORK USEUCOM USCINCEUR USDOCOSOUTH DIA WASHDC USMISSION
NATO FROM NICOSIA 07 DEC 74:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 4384

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CY PINT PGOV

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS RETURNS TO CYPRUS

REF: FBIS TA 071235Z

1. SUMMARY. ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS RETURNS IN TRIUMPH. TURNOUT
IS LARGE, ORDERLY, BUT CROWDS SEEM RATHER APATHETIC TO SPEECH
WHICH INTER ALIA OFFERS AMNESTY TO LOCAL GREEK ENEMIES, STRIKES
HARD LINE AGAINST TURK "FAITS ACCOMPLIS" AND TRANSFERS OF POPULA-
TIONS WHICH TANTAMOUNT TO PARTITION. MARKARIOS, FOR ONCE,
MADE NO CRITICAL ALLUSION TO USG. END SUMMARY.

2. ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS RETURNED TO CYPRUS DECEMBER 7 IN
PERSONAL TRIUMPH. ENTIRE PROGRAM WENT OFF WITHOUT ANY APPARENT
HITCH. SHORTLY BEFORE 1000 LOCAL, ARCHBISHOP LANDED AT AKROTIRI
SBA WHERE HE MET WITH UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN (WHO DEPARTING
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FOR NEW YORK). UN HELICOPTER THEN BROUGHT ARCHBISHOP TO NICOSIA,

WHICH HAD BEEN GAILY FESTOONED FOR HIS ARRIVAL. MAIN STREETS AND MANY BUILDINGS DISPLAYED BANNERS OF WELCOME, WITH GENERALLY NONPROVOCATIVE THEMES: APPLICATION OF UN RESOLUTIONS, RETURN OF REFUGEES TO HOMES, RECONCILIATION OF GREEK CYPRIOTS WITH TURK CYPRIOTS AND WITH EACH OTHER. SINCE FRIDAY, POPULAR MIKIS THEODORAKIS SONGS HAD BEEN BROADCAST OVER SPEAKER SYSTEMS AT MAIN SQUARES. EARLIER SENSE OF FOREBODING IN SOME QUARTERS HAD EVAPORATED THIS MORNING, DUE MAINLY TO (1) PUBLIC PLEDGES FROM RIGHTISTS CAMP (EOKA-B, ESEA) THAT IW WOULD SEEK NO CONFRONTATION, (2) ELABORATE SECURITY PRECAUTIONS, AND (3) RECENT DENKTASH REMARKS (HEAVILY PLAYED IN TODAY'S GREEK PRESS) THAT MAKARIOS' RETURN WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BRING ON NEW ROUND OF TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS (FBIS TA 062050Z).

3. DAY BEGAN WITH "MAKARIOS WEATHER" WINDLESS, BRIGHT, BALMY, NOT A CLOUD IN THE SKY. AS UN HELICOPTER CIRCLED LAZILY OVER CITY, MAKARIOS APPEARED ON ARCHBISHOPRIC BALCONY, LATER ENTERED ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL TO OFFICIATE AT HIS FIRST CYPRUS MASS IN FIVE MONTHS. MASSES OF GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD COME TO WELCOME THEIR ETHNARCH HOME. CROWD WAS QUITE LARGE, PERHAPS EXCEEDING SPRING 1972 GATHERING. MOST PEOPLE APPEARED PEACEFUL, WELL DRESSED, BUT MORE CONCERNED WITH SEEING ARCHBISHOP THAN LISTENING TO WHAT HE HAD TO SAY. MANY CHILDREN PRESENT. EMBOFFS AND LOCAL EMPLOYEES SAW NO REPEAT NOT INCIDENTS. THOUGH LARGE, NOISY CLAQUE WAS PRESENT AT ARCHBISHOPRIC SQUARE, BROADER MASSES SELDOM FOLLOWED LEAD. SPONTANEOUS OVATIONS ONLY OCCURRED AT FIRST MENTION OF CLERIDES, NG COMMANDER GENERAL KARAYIANNIS, AND APPEARANCE BY MAKARIOS ON BALCONY STILL HEAVILY SCARRED BY COUP FIGHTING. ALMOST AS SOON AS ARCHBISHOP STARTED SPEAKING, LARGE EXODUS FROM AREA BEGAN AS GREEK CYPRIOTS HASTENED TO BEST THE RUSH (PERHAPS ALSO GATHERING RAINCLOUDS).

4. MAKARIOS' SPEECH, FREQUENTLY INTERRUPTED BY LEFTIST CLAQUE WHICH CHANTED SLOGANS AGAINST JUNTA AND LOCAL ENEMIES, REPEATED MOST OF HIS RECENT PUBLIC THEMES. HE SHARPLY ATTACKED GREEK JUNTA FOR SETTING OFF COUP. HE RAPPELLED GOT'S USE OF COUP AS "PRETEXT" FOR INVADING CYPRUS. THOUGH PROFESSING DESIRE TO FIND SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM THROUGH TALKS WITH TURK CYPRIOTS

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AND VOICING CONVICTION THAT WAY COULD BE FOUND FOR "SELF-ADMINISTRATION OF TWO CO-RESIDENT ELEMENTS", MAKARIOS STRESSED THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD NEITHER RECOGNIZE NOR ACCEPT "FAITS ACCOMPLIS ACHIEVED THROUGH MILITARY OPERATIONS". MOREOVER, HE REJECTED CATEGORICALLY ANY SOLUTION BASED ON MOVEMENT OF POPULATIONS AND TANTAMOUNT TO PARTITION OF CYPRUS. OTHERWISE, ARCHBISHOP VOICED NO VIEWS ON POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM. SPEECH MADE NO REFERENCE TO USG, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY.

5. MAKARIOS STRUCK POSE AS RECONCILER, PEACEMAKER. HE INVEIGHED AGAINST "OUTDATED CHAUVINISTIC TENDENCIES OR PREJUDICES OF PAST." HE PROCLAIMED AMNESTY FOR ALL HIS FORMER ENEMIES, INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAD TAKEN PART IN COUP. HE CALLED ON ALL FACTIONS TO TURN IN WEAPONS TO GOC AUTHORITIES. HE PLEDGED TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS AND EXPECTATIONS OF HIS PEOPLE, BUT HE SPECIFICALLY AVOIDED MAKING PROMISES WHICH HE COULD "PROBABLY" NOT REDEEM. THROUGHOUT, MAKARIOS PLAYED EXCLUSIVE ROLE OF CHARISMATIC LEADER TALKING TO "HIS" PEOPLE. HE DID NOT MENTION CLERIDES ONCE NOR INDICATE THAT CYPRUS HAD BEEN GOVERNED WELL, OR AT ALL, DURING HIS ABSENCE.

6. BEHAVIOR OF CROWD DURING AND AFTER SPEECH WAS LARGELY INDIFFERENT. MAKARIOS' RHETORIC SET NONE OF THEM ON FIRE; IT MAY HAVE SOBERED SOME. AFTERWARD, FROM OUR LIMITED OBSERVATION, FEW PEOPLE DISCUSSING SPEECH; MOST WERE HASTENING TO REACH THEIR CARS BEFORE RAINS FELL.

7. COMMENT. TRIUMPHANT, UNBLEMISHED RETURN GIVES MAKARIOS MUCH TO BE THANKFUL FOR. WHILE GIVING NOBLE PROMISES, MOST OF WHICH HAVE BEEN HEARD BEFORE, MAKARIOS CAREFULLY AVOIDED COMMITMENT TO SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION. REJECTION OF TURK FAITS ACCOMPLIS WAS MINIMUM HE COULD HAVE OFFERED GREEK REFUGEES WHO DOUBTEDLESS EXPECTED SOMETHING MORE CONCRETE, SUCH AS PLEDGE TO RETURN THEIR HOMES TO THEM. MAKARIOS IS OBVIOUSLY READY TO CONTINUE "STRUGGLE", THOUGH. HIS HARDLINE OPPOSITION TO POPULATION MOVEMENT COULD SPELL TROUBLE IF IMPLEMENTED AS GOC POLICY, GIVEN IMPORTANCE WHICH TURKS ATTACH TO BRINGING THEIR PEOPLE INTO NORTHERN ZONE. END COMMENT. CRAWFORD UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, POLITICAL LEADERS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE269247
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: A.RAPHEL:WES
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740356-0394
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741251/aaaabrvi.tel
Line Count: 145
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: FBIS TA 071235Z
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 MAY 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MAKARIOS RETURNS TO CYPRUS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, CY, (MAKARIOS)
To: REYKJAVIK
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005